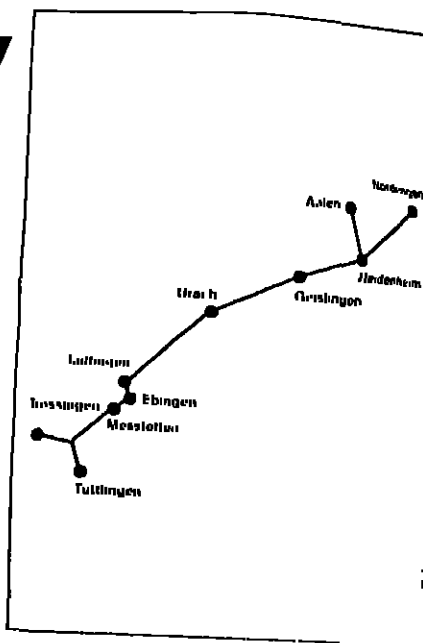


Routes to tour in Germany

The Swabian Alb Route

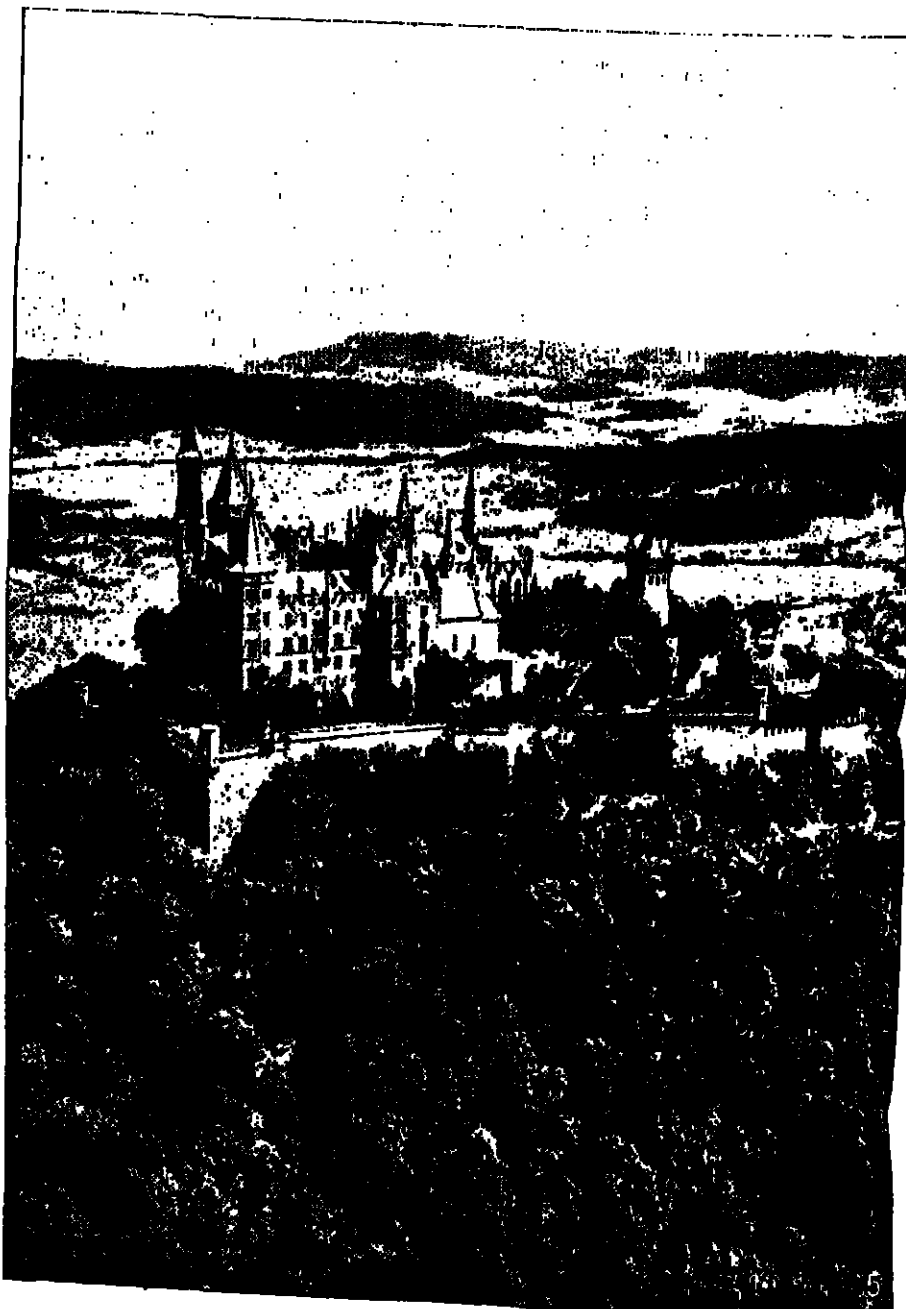


German roads will get you there. South of Stuttgart the Swabian Alb runs north-east from the Black Forest. It is a range of hills full of fossilised reminders of prehistory. It has a blustery but healthy climate, so have good walking shoes with you and scale a few heights as you try out some of the 6,250 miles of marked paths. Dense forests, caves full of stalactites and stalagmites, ruined castles and rocks that invite you to clamber will ensure variety.

You will also see what you can't see from a car: rare flowers and plants. The route runs over 125 miles through health resorts and nature reserves, passing Baroque churches, late Gothic and Rococo architecture and Hohenzollern Castle, home of the German Imperial family. Visit Germany and let the Swabian Alb Route be your guide.

- 1 View of the Hegau region, near Tuttlingen
- 2 Heidenheim
- 3 Nördlingen
- 4 Urach
- 5 Hohenzollern Castle

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Europeans fail to agree on farms and money



The summit meeting of the European Community's government leaders in Copenhagen was a disappointment.

No firm agreement was reached on the urgent problems of agricultural surpluses, financing, the North-South dialogue and the British contribution to the Community budget.

Avoiding the term "failure", many summiters spoke of an adjournment of the search for solutions to these problems until the extraordinary summit in Brussels on 11 and 12 February next year.

President Francois Mitterrand of France described the summit's outcome by stating that, once again, Europe no longer exists when others talk about the future of the world.

At the same time, however, he said: "It's better to have no compromise today than a poor one."

Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher felt that a step had been made in the right direction, although she was unwilling to use the word "success".

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl admitted that no agreement had been reached on the Delors reform package, but that progress had been made in a number of fields.

The president of the European Parliament, Lord Plumb, expressed his disappointment at the summit outcome.

The 12 member states, he said, had made the mistake of attaching only secondary importance to Community interests.

The government leaders may have to already pay a price for their failure if the European Parliament actually carries out its threat to take legal action against them at the European Court of Justice on the grounds of inactivity with regard to the submission of a draft budget for 1988.

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Several summit delegations did their utmost to emphasise the positive aspects of the meeting.

Helmut Kohl, for example, talked of agreement in principle on cost-cutting elements in the agricultural sector, on a commitment to stricter budgetary discipline or on a reform of the European Community's own revenue with greater consideration of the prosperity of individual member states.

European Commission president Jacques Delors claimed that the system of "stabilisers", an automatic reduction of prices at the expense of the farmers, had been generally accepted in Copenhagen.

However, whereas Bonn takes a reduction of costs in the agricultural sector to mean the reduction of cultivated land, a move which it hopes to make more appealing to farmers via an incentive bonus scheme, the European Commission, Britain and a number of other Community partners think in terms of punishing the producers of surpluses by cutting back guaranteed farm prices.

The concepts of how to reorganise the exaggeratedly expensive agricultural

While Reagan and Gorbachov were agreeing at the Washington summit to scrap an entire category of nuclear weapons, European Community leaders in Copenhagen could not even agree on cropping targets for wheat, rape seed, peas and beans.

It is a godsend for the press: one side, there is world politics writ large; on the other its market day in Remotesville, Farawayshire. Yet the Remotesville people, who come back from the market empty handed, think they belong around the table with the superpowers.

Gorbachov must envy the Europeans. Oh, for a surplus of wheat to worry about instead of a surplus of missiles!

Yet many people will attach greater importance to the repercussions of the European Community's agricultural policy than to the elimination of roughly three per cent of the world's nuclear weapons.

Agriculture not only affects millions of Europeans but also the USA and many Third World countries, which reckon that cheap European produce flooding the world's markets is damaging their farming industries.

After the European Community's foreign ministers and agriculture ministers already failed to reach agreement on the reform package proposed by the European Commission the prospects for success at the Copenhagen summit were not all that good anyway.

The agricultural surpluses and its huge cost to the Community are already



Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (left) with Chancellor Helmut Kohl at a Press conference after the Copenhagen summit. (Photo: dpa)

market still vary considerably, in certain respects even between the the Federal Republic of Germany and France.

How pronounced differences are became clear at the beginning of the second day of summit negotiations.

In its capacity as president of the European Council Denmark elaborated a negotiating concept which did not go down well with Helmut Kohl.

The Federal Republic of Germany, it

was emphasised, is not willing to suffer indefinitely.

President Mitterrand is also reputed to have been annoyed at the fact that he had to deal with the details of the Community's agricultural problems for hours on end without having anything to show for the effort.

Klaus Bohnhof
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne,
7 December 1987)

Weapons and wheat: tale of two summits

part of a chronic disease for which there is no miracle cure. The price is now being paid for the sins of the past.

The fact that the government leaders nevertheless returned from the summit almost relieved is rooted in the experience that a last-minute compromise can always be found to save the Community for a while, even if the problem at hand is not solved. This last minute is still weeks, if not months ahead.

Although the Community is quite simply "bust" and has no budget for 1988 it can still survive through an emergency funding procedure.

Politicians not only live from hand to mouth, but from the principle of hope.

This is a kind of inexhaustible asset, which can always be chalked up on the next credit balance.

This asset is already on the balance sheet of the special conference in February. Even if surpluses are cut, more will have to be paid into the budget.

Margaret Thatcher said: "Before we fill up the bath again we have to put the plug in."

Things may be different in Brussels. Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl will be presiding since Germany is taking

over the presidency. One might expect the president to be rather more ambitious than the others when it comes to putting in the plug and filling up the bath.

President Mitterrand will be campaigning for presidential re-election in the spring.

From his point of view no agreement at all at a Community summit is better than a bad one for France.

For this reason the pressure on government leaders, especially Kohl, will be much greater in February.

Kohl has double pressure. At home, he will be expected to do nothing to hurt CDU chances in the Baden-Württemberg poll in spring. But he will not want the other Europeans to be disappointed once again.

He may well wait until the summit in June, therefore, before seeking to crown his presidency with a reform package. Such is the nature of politics, European politics in particular.

The summit was a novelty in two respects. Even the Bonn-Paris axis was unable to save the situation and leaders refrained from blaming each other for the miscarriage.

They never even got round to the key question of who should pay what.

Kohl was probably just as much to blame for this as Mitterrand and Thatcher. This time the European Commission, which is usually blamed, is the least to blame.

The Commission's president Jacques

Continued on page 2

■ EUROPE

East Bloc runs into winter of discontent

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Storm clouds are gathered over Eastern Europe. The East German leaders have used secret police to quell dissent among the young. This has jeopardised the basis of their relationship with the Protestant Church.

In Poland, most of the population, fed up with chronic hardship, have voted against the fairly harmless terms of a referendum.

This winter Rumanians are sliding below destitution level and there is growing unrest among industrial workers.

Yugoslavia is increasingly entangled in clashes between its nationalities and in the imbroglio of inflation.

Hungary is heading for troubled waters over its reform policies, while in Czechoslovakia differing views on economic policy are coming to a head.

The Soviet Union is being urged by Mr Gorbachev to change its ways, but it is less and less clear how far his impact will reach.

The situation looks much the same throughout Eastern Europe, but it isn't. There are substantial differences in each case.

The communist countries of Europe have their individual histories. And even their recent, communist pasts differ in detail.

Each Party leadership has specific difficulties which it handles in different ways. Where the difficulties are the same, the ways of handling them vary.

In Poland General Jaruzelski is more firmly in power than any other Eastern European leader. No-one else in the leadership could even consider curtailing his powers.

Yet he must be on his guard against a people who have ousted several Communist Party leaders in Warsaw and who have not forgotten that they were able to do so.

The Polish state today does not go in for brutal oppression. It permits many public utterances that it doesn't like and is careful in its dealings with the Church.

But it has failed to inspire hopes of a recovery of the Polish economy, which it has ruined for decades.

The price increases it has imposed may be economically justified and the entire economic recovery programme it has proclaimed may sound plausible.

But it follows so many programmes and so many sacrifices by the Polish people, none of which have done any good, with the result that confidence is lacking — the confidence that alone would make change possible.

The referendum vote that went against the government is clear sign of the state of relations between the Polish authorities and the Polish people.

Erich Honecker in East Germany need have no such worries. East Germans in will not be so prompt to rise in rebellion.

The demonstration in front of the Zionskirche in East Berlin is most unlikely to have marked the beginning of a mass movement.

Yet the ruling SED must grow accustomed to the prospect of growing dissatisfaction in East Germany:

- Economists and technicians are annoyed by the limits to productivity inherent in the system.
- Members of the cultural intelligentsia have trouble with official dogmas no matter how harsh the penalties may be for not toeing the Party line.
- Millions of ordinary people are infuriated by travel restrictions that are still most oppressive.

East Germany thus stands still less chance of outperforming the West (a challenge to which it has so often referred) in terms of criteria its own inhabitants accept.

It finds it extremely hard to justify its claim to legitimately represent the people and seems sure to find it increasingly difficult to do so.

Czechoslovakia creates a stabler impression, yet there are strange goings-on. Why, for instance, did Party leader and head of state Gustav Husak fly home early from the 70th anniversary celebrations of the Russian Revolution in Moscow?

He is said to have been in poor health for some time. Was that the reason or was he annoyed to find that the name of his predecessor, Mr Dubecek, is no longer as strictly taboo in Moscow as it continues to be in Prague?

Why, for that matter, did Czech Premier Lubomir Strougal pay the Soviet capital a previously unannounced visit not a fortnight later?

He is keen to boost the flagging Czech economy by means of strictly limited reforms. A powerful wing in the Party leadership is most reluctant to consider change of any kind.

President Husak was once a reformer, but his political career peaked along Brezhnev lines in an age of inflexibility.

The Czech public are peaceful enough, but the technocrats are restive. It would be far from surprising if new developments were to occur in Prague next year.

Hungary in contrast seems determined to continue with its reform policies. They will require material sacrifices by the Hungarian people and less unyielding determination on the leadership's part to retain power at all costs. Tension could well be the result.

People in Rumania have to live with the destiny with which the Ceasescu family regime has saddled them. Demonstrations such as occurred in Brasov will have no more effect on the totally unrealistic policy pursued by the country's rulers than will attempts to influence matters from outside.

No-one can say what lies in store for the Rumanians after Mr Ceasescu, but whatever it is, it can hardly be worse.

So there are dislocations everywhere, and although they may differ in appearance they have one feature in common: all over Eastern Europe leaderships have held on for too long to the political and economic tenets of their Leninist-Stalinist credo prescribed.

Some sought to leave the causes alone while eliminating a number of repercussions. Others were not even prepared to go this far.

The contradictions between reality and necessity can be sure to intensify.

Johann Georg Reissmüller
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 December 1987)

Big risks if new four-power talks over Berlin are held

The three Western Allies and Bonn are considering whether a meeting of the ambassadors of the Four Powers in Germany to talk about Berlin might be suggested to the Soviet Union.

The idea was mooted by the Americans and is based on views outlined by President Reagan in his speech on 12 June at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin.

He suggested making Berlin, as an East-West fulcrum, a place of encounter. Both parts of the city could jointly host international gatherings and take up opportunities requiring supranational cooperation.

At the same time Mr Reagan proposed throwing Berlin still further open to the entire Continent by extending air traffic to make the city a hub of civil aviation in Central Europe.

He even suggested that both parts of Berlin might one day soon hold the Olympic Games.

These suggestions were seen at the time as well-meant but not taken all that seriously in many quarters. The Soviet Union also initially — but unjustifiably — dismissed them as mere propaganda with an undertone of aggression towards East Germany.

They were recommended to the President by the State Department, which had clearly registered the fact that the improvements in the situation in and around Berlin achieved by the terms of the Four-Power Agreement were increasingly being forgotten by many German politicians.

This prompted them, in a kind of actionism, to table more and more demands that were not entirely in keeping with the basis of the city's status as reaffirmed, to the furthest extent possible, by the Four-Power Agreement.

The Reagan proposals were to some extent a forward defensive move designed to indicate that this German jostling was understood but that it must be incorporated in an international context that was not exclusive to the Germans.

Continued from page 1

Delors presented a fairly reasonable set of proposals which at least tried to bring back the market mechanism.

Delors wanted to introduce coiling production levels. Once these levels are surpassed the guaranteed prices for farmers would automatically fall.

Reducing cultivated land area, as favoured by Bonn, cannot have the same effect.

Farmers whose farms cannot survive any further revenue loss could be less expensively helped via social grants and direct aid than via the perpetuation of the guaranteed price system.

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl said no on this point and also refused to increase the contribution of the better-off Community members.

This is a slap in the face of the free-market system and European integration. If the Community is unable to remove the obstacle of butter and wheat mountains it will never achieve a "common internal market" by 1992.

Europe may not be all that popular at the moment, but voters are even less interested in the issue of German reunification frequently referred to by Kohl during recent months.

Dieter Schröder
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 7 December 1987)

This point subsequently eluded German politicians in particular, who went on to claim that their own "progressive" ideas were endorsed by President Reagan's Berlin proposals.

So the idea of a Berlin conference, Four-Power ambassadors, as now discussed, is not just the result of any, to be charitable.

It is a cool and level-headed response to the fact that German, and above all Berlin, politicians are constantly drawing up plans on which adequate negotiations have not been held with the Western Allies, that in many cases are not in accord with the Western Allies' views and that at times run counter to legal viewpoints all Four Powers hold responsibility for Berlin still jointly.

To put it cynically, since the German fail to see both the limits posed by the Four-Power Agreement and the opportunities it offers for future developments, the city's status must be salvaged with the assistance of the Soviet Union, which has a strong self-interest in doing so.

If that too fails, the question posed by former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger at the Aspen Institute conference held in Berlin at the end of October will apply. "What are you going to do," he asked, "if the Americans pull out?"

The Four-Power ambassadors' conference proposed by the United States is admittedly a highly dangerous light rope walk even when seen from the viewpoint of US self-interest.

It comes very close to the negotiations between the contracting parties agreed in the final minute to the Four-Power Agreement in the event of difficulties arising in the implementation of the agreement that one of the Four Powers regards as serious.

Such difficulties have naturally arisen, but all Four Powers have hitherto been of the opinion that they did not go beyond the problems anticipated when the agreement was signed and, to some extent, incorporated in the agreement itself.

Even the Soviet Union, in its interpretation of the agreement, has so far limited itself to lodging legal protests. This restraint on Moscow's part has not been honoured by the proposal to convene a conference of Four-Power ambassadors.

To hold it would indeed be to open Pandora's box providing the Soviet Union with an opportunity of using a conference to monitor and interpret the Four-Power Agreement.

It is this treaty in the interest of Germans, of the people of Berlin and the politicians who claim to act in their better interest?

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 2 December 1987)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

A re-united Germany cannot be ruled out forever, says Chancellor Kohl

Chancellor Helmut Kohl says the government has not reconciled itself to the division of Germany, although the issue of reunification is not on the agenda of world politics at the moment. In an interview with Johann Georg Reissmüller in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, he said that future generations might see a reunited Germany.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl said he was satisfied at the agreement between America and the Soviet Union on the elimination of medium-range missiles and the summit meeting between President Reagan and the Soviet leader.

This was the first time that an agreement of this kind has been drawn up between East and West. A door had been opened to a future in which trust could flourish.

The most decisive aspect of the missiles agreement was that security would be greater at the end of the disarmament process.

Kohl said the Alliance must now move towards scaling down the number of intercontinental missiles to agreed levels; regulating chemical weapons; reducing the Soviet Union's overwhelming conventional weapon superiority; and an agreeing on weapons with a range of less than 500 kilometres.

He said all these should be dealt with as a whole and not as separate items.

Further steps towards disarmament were possible if the Alliance stayed with a clear course.

But he warned against efforts to reduce East-West relations to their military aspect.

Dialogue must also relate to focal points of international tension, human rights and cultural as well as economic exchanges.

Kohl is convinced that understanding is possible if the Soviet Union renounces its former objectives and methods.

In a letter he received recently from Mikhail Gorbachev, the Chancellor added, he was given an assurance that the Soviet Union wishes to turn over a new leaf in its relationship with Germany.

If the terms are right, Kohl pointed out, Bonn's approval for such a "fresh start" is guaranteed.

The Soviet Union should remember, for example, that West Germany would always champion the rights of the two million Germans and the two million Jews living in the Soviet Union, including their right to emigrate.

On the question of the division of Germany, Kohl "feels bound" by the clear commitment to reunification in the preamble of the Basic Law.

The right of self-determination as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations was the basic right of all peoples: "The German Question is open. We do not reconcile ourselves to the division of Germany and Berlin."

But he made it clear that German unification is not on the current agenda of world politics.

It could not be ruled out that future generations would see a reunited Germany. But this did not mean that Germans should not become resigned.

Freedom took precedence over unity and the nation-state of the 19th century had no future.

He criticised both right-wing and left-

many. But freedom took precedence over unity. He justified his decision to meet East Berlin leader Erich Honecker in West Germany this year by pointing out the number of East Germans allowed to visit the West during the year. On foreign policy, Kohl told Reissmüller that European integration followed the relationship with America

as top priority. Plans for a European internal market by 1992 would cost Bonn a lot of money, but Germans would benefit greatly. He said fears that Franco-German cooperation might jeopardise Nato were unfounded. The wide-ranging interview covered disarmament, financial policies and various German domestic issues.

The policy of partnership with France is misunderstood.

If relations between Bonn and Paris are poor it is claimed that the Germans are at fault; if relations are good, there are warnings of an "axis".

Kohl referred to the concern expressed by Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher that Franco-German cooperation might jeopardise Nato as unfounded.

Bonn intended fostering such cooperation. The next items on this agenda were the German-French defence council, a German-French brigade, the joint training of officers, and closer cooperation in the economic and fiscal policy fields.

Slightly irritated, the Chancellor insisted that the Federal Republic of Germany had kept its promise to contribute towards the development of the world economy, expressing his hopes that others would follow suit.

Bonn, he elucidated, has consolidated its budget, agreed on far-reaching tax reforms, opened up its markets, and participated in new developments in the field of communications.

Reports by experts, Kohl claimed, confirmed that Bonn is pursuing the right economic and fiscal policies. There is no reason for fears of a major recession, said the Chancellor.

The Bonn government, Kohl pointed out, would soon be making decisions designed to improve the overall climate for investments beyond the tax reform.

The Federal Republic of Germany, the Chancellor explained, is faced by numerous regional and structural problems, making specific reference to the coal and steel industries and shipyards.

What the country needs, he said, is an efficient mining system, as well as modern steel production facilities and shipyards.

The number of people currently employed in these sectors, Kohl stressed, cannot be maintained.

The necessary restructuring must be socially compatible, but there is no alternative, the Chancellor added.

Kohl has his doubts about the regularly published unemployment figures.

They do not stand up to closer examination and include, for example, many dropouts who take advantage of the network of welfare benefits as well as persons who are employed but pay no social security contributions, the Chancellor claimed.

During this Bundestag term, he stressed, there must be frank and fair discussions on a number of issues which are important for the country's intellectual and moral stature, such as euthanasia, genetic engineering and abortion.

The priority of the family should be generally accepted, the Chancellor said, and greater efforts made to turn the Federal Republic of Germany a more child-orientated society. The country needs an open and tolerant atmosphere, he emphasised.

Sometimes, the Chancellor complained,

the policy of partnership with France is misunderstood. If relations between Bonn and Paris are poor it is claimed that the Germans are at fault; if relations are good, there are warnings of an "axis".

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the policy of partnership with France is misunderstood. If relations between Bonn and Paris are poor it is claimed that the Germans are at fault; if relations are good, there are warnings of an "axis".

Chancellor Kohl criticised the ideologisation of politics, since this fosters an attitude of if you're not for us you're against us.

"Everyone, and this includes my own party, should ask themselves whether they aren't party to blame for this development. The CDU has suffered bitter experiences in Schleswig-Holstein. This should prompt greater self-examination," said Kohl.

All those who stand up for freedom, the Chancellor continued, must be concerned about growing violence.

There has been a partial desensitisation of public opinion in this field, Kohl added. Many people accept the sawing off of electricity pylons or bomb attacks on buildings as something quite normal.

The murder of two policemen at Frankfurt airport, however, was a signal, Kohl emphasised: "Anyone who supports violence against property must realise that this leads to violence against people and finally to murder."

Kohl spoke of the hundreds of policemen who had been injured by violent demonstrators during recent years.

He made it clear that the right to demonstrate is no less important than the freedom of the press. However, he only approves of peaceful demonstrations and is determined to bring about the decisions needed to combat violence.

The Chancellor finds it extremely difficult to understand the fuss about the ban on wearing masks at demonstrations.

Anyone who wants to demonstrate in our free state, Kohl said, has no reason to cover up his face.

Kohl feels that the Bonn coalition government is doing a good job. It is praised, he said, throughout the world.

Nevertheless, he added, the coalition is dogged by unnecessary disputes.

As there are no real conflicts over issues, Kohl explained, some politicians try to get attention by focusing on marginal topics.

Following the foolish things said and done during recent months, said Kohl with a hint of anger, the leaders of the three coalition parties had realised that something must change.

Although Kohl insists that there is no alternative to the current coalition he emphasises that the conservative union (CDU and CSU) and the FDP are rivals during elections.

"The conservative union has no votes to give away," the Chancellor said.

There is an arrangement between the CDU and CSU, said Kohl, that differences of opinion should no longer be settled in public.

The CDU and CSU together, he explained, are by far the country's most powerful political force.

Providing the conservative parties stick to their programme and policy objectives things will stay this way, said the Chancellor. He described the debate about a shift to the left in the CDU as artificial.

"I don't stand for a change in fundamental positions," he said.

The CDU remains a party of the centre, open to all social groups, he stressed.

In an age of growing secularisation, Kohl explained, the commitment to Christian principles and norms is the compass.

Kohl would like to see traditional conservative voters handled with care, but efforts made, he said, to attract new voters.

The CDU must face up to new challenges, he emphasised. A balance must be struck between economic and ecological interests, the Chancellor said.

Christian social conviction, liberal ideas and a conservative value orientation are the three guiding principles, said Kohl.

"I am sure that voters will confirm such a policy in 1990," said the Chancellor.

Johann Georg Reissmüller
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 30 November 1987)

POLITICS

Greens try to close the great divide

Feelings inside the environmentalist party, the Greens, are running high. The party is divided between the pragmatic *realos* and the fundamentalists, known as the *fundis*. There have even been open calls to make the split official. Several recent issues have sharpened antagonisms: one was the shooting of two policemen during a demonstration in Frankfurt; another was the visit of a group of *realos* to Israel; yet another was the issue of Hafenstrasse, a street in Hamburg containing some houses occupied by squatters, an issue that appears now to have been settled after spilling over into periodic violence. Alfons Pieper wrote this story for *Westdeutsche Allgemeine*.

Greens MP Otto Schily has called upon the party's parliamentary group in the Bundestag to show greater solidarity with him.

He made the appeal in response to strongly worded criticism of him by the national executive committee.

During a seven-hour meeting of the Bonn parliamentary party, Schily said that he did not want the party to split up into two separate political groupings.

However, he added, a party can also be divided in "form and content".

Schily stated the conditions under which he is willing to carry on his political activity in the Greens.

Non-violence, he emphasised, should be "clearly and jointly supported by all".

He complained that some party members were splitting hairs in reacting to the murder of two policemen in the Frankfurt demonstration. Schily said murder must be called murder.

At the beginning of the meeting, there was plenty of protest from grass-roots members.

A handful of Greens from Baden-Württemberg urged the Green MPs to put an end to party infighting.

"We've had enough," one of them said. They vented their disappointment on posters they hung up on the walls of the small parliamentary group office.

"If you'd rotated, you'd be regenerated" or "We've had enough of you, this is the last straw".

One of the posters shows a wastepaper bin with a sign above it: "mandate collection box".

Roughly 25 of the 44 Green Bundestag MPs were at the meeting. There was so little room that some television cameramen had to sit on the floor.

Frau Beck-Oberdorf held her six-month-old baby in her arms. The child didn't seem to worry about the noise and the lack of fresh air.

A big dog was ushered out of the room "because some people here are scared of it".

What is the dispute within the Greens all about? Otto Schily, Hubert Kleinert, the party business manager in the Bundestag, and several other representatives of the more moderate *realo* faction want a clear dissociation from militant groups.

The murder of two policemen in Frankfurt and the events surrounding the Hafenstrasse squat in Hamburg lay a part.

Dietrich Wenzel professed his support for civil disobedience, but qualified this declaration by stating that there should be no violence against property or people.

He complained that some members of the parliamentary party condone the use of more militant forms of opposition. He said clarification was needed on this point.

Willi Hoss, ex-works council member at Daimler-Benz, admitted that "he gets scared" when he sees masked demonstrators with catapults.

He supports democracy, said Hoss (born in 1929), and recalled that he personally experienced the Nazi era.

Although he advocates reform, Hoss emphasised, these must be achieved without violence.

During the meeting the party's fundamentalist faction kept quiet.

The *realos* frequently referred to statements by Jutta Ditfurth and to passages in her book *Die tägliche legale Versuchung unserer Flüsse und wie wir uns dagegen wehren müssen* (The day-to-day legal contamination of our rivers and how we must prevent it).

In her book she says that campaigns to prevent this contamination should sometimes be peaceful and sometimes more drastic and "often militant".

Another member of the *realos* then started outlining the approach and the dialectics of the fundamentalists.

"They don't say we support an alliance with militants, but say that we should not split opposition."

Another dispute relates to a visit to Israel at the end of October by Green MPs Otto Schily, Waltraud Schoppe and Dietrich Wenzel following an invitation by the Israeli government.

The national executive committee and the fundamentalist wing accused these MPs of having betrayed the Greens by not stating their opinion on the right of Palestinians to self-determination.

Schily again emphasised that he had spoken up for the Palestinian cause.

The Greens had already dealt with this problem in a special meeting one week previously.

Schily angrily claimed that many people were now beating about the bush and "that my personal integrity, which is an asset for the party at national level, is being disputed if claims are made that I am a racist, particularly with regard to Israel". He said: "This is the limit".

A further major problem is a possible splitting up of the party as a result of the policy differences between *realos* and fundamentalists.

Udo Knapp has already openly called for a party split.

Several party fundamentalists have asked Schoppe to act accordingly.

"Anyone who wants a split should say so," said Lilo Wollny, who was also surprised that Otto Schily was so ruffled.

"I was always one of the old ladies who admired you. I thought you were absolutely cool," she said.

At the end of the meeting a vote was planned on a resolution stating that a party split would mean the end of the party and that discussion is necessary "but together".

Instead of casting a vote on this resolution the meeting voted on whether to vote.

A vote on the resolution was rejected by 14 to 12 votes. The discussion is to be continued this month.

Alfons Pieper.
(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, Essen,
21 November 1987)

Transformation in both Germany and Britain

There have been changes in both the British and West German political spectrum over the past few years. Thatcherism has altered British politics and the Greens have cemented their position in West Germany. A conference in England discussed the matter. Hermann Rudolph reports for *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

At first glance there are many similarities between British and West German party-political structures — and in the direction they are heading.

Conservative parties predominate in both countries, their left-wing rivals are passing through a difficult period of transition, and new political groupings — the SDP-Liberal Alliance in Britain and the Greens in Germany — have entered the political arena.

But a second glance reveals differences. In both countries, there are changes in voting patterns and party structures caused by a desire for greater political participation, which in its turn results from the waning significance of rigid social structures and traditions.

But whereas the consolidation of the Greens as a parliamentary factor has broken up the traditional three-party system in Germany, the British two-party system has survived the earthquakes of recent years.

The British first-past-the-post majority vote system is a major explanatory factor in the latter case.

In view of this structural dissimilarity, therefore, is a comparison between the party-political systems of these two countries at all meaningful?

During the conference on the changes in the party-political systems in Britain and in Germany, organised by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and held in Wilton Park in the south of England, the question was often raised whether two separate conferences were in fact taking place.

Yet there was no talking at cross-purposes during the discussions, which not only brought to light the expected broad spectrum of differences and similarities.

The conference also enabled the peculiarity of each system to be mirrored in

the respective dissimilarity of the other system.

The same politico-historical experience pervades the development of party-political systems in both countries.

The concept of a catch-all people's party, which promised to reduce ideologies and ensure representation of a multiplicity of "social classes", emerged in both cases during the early post-war years.

In both countries this concept has come up against its limits during recent years.

The people's parties are unable to bring about the widespread integration they promised.

There is a growing desire for a more distinct political profile and a greater sense of political commitment.

The decline of this model (which seemed to shape the development of party politics for two or even three decades) has taken place under differing circumstances in the British and West German contexts.

Admittedly, nowhere have there been so many conflicts about new political forms as in the Federal Republic of Ger-

many, said Gordon Smith from the London School of Economics.

Yet when reference is made to an upheaval or even collapse of the traditional party-political structures this can only be claimed in the British case, he added.

Vernon Bogdanor, a Political Sciences lecturer in Oxford, claimed that whereas disputes between political parties in the Federal Republic of Germany still take place within a framework of commonly accepted concepts of the tasks and objectives of democratic pluralism there are two mutually exclusive concepts of the party system in Britain.

This is the result of the political approach and triumphal march into power of Margaret Thatcher, which, as British conferees repeatedly emphasised, triggered a veritable revolution.

So has there been a fundamental change in theoretical approaches in both countries?

Have the British, who gained a reputation as protagonists of a sportive and moderate approach to politics, now become ideologues, and have the Germans, who are often reputed to mix politics with *Weltnachschau*, disarmed to an ideological minimum?

This, the British experts emphasised, would be a continental misjudgement of the situation.

The changing face of British politics, Anthony Giddens maintained, primarily resulted from the crisis of political leadership which became visible during the turbulence at the end of the Seventies, especially during the major strikes.

Ivor Grewe from the University of Essex was even more adamant in his rejection of any suspicions of ideological change.

The success of the Conservative must be attributed to Margaret Thatcher's demonstrative leadership, he claimed.

It has come about despite and not because of her excursions into ideological waters, Grewe added.

Both the business manager of the CDU in the Bundestag, Peter Radunski, and sociologist Alf Mintzel from Passau, a specialist in the field of the sociology of political parties, emphasised that the German parties never became people's parties to such an extent that they dropped programmatic party positions.

The setting of political programmes, said Radunski, has proven its worth as an indispensable element of the German brand of the people's party.

All moves towards a transformation of positions are relativised by differing fundamental concepts of party politics in Britain and in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The markedly institutionalised character of West German parties, which most possess the status of constitutional organs, remains an alien concept in the context of British traditions and accepted norms.

No matter what they set out to achieve and propagate, political parties in Britain remain first and foremost instruments which, said Gordon Smith, "are rewarded or punished for what

Continued on page 8

PERSPECTIVE

New approaches to helping defeat poverty in the Third World

The writer of this article, Karl Osner, is a senior official at the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation in Bonn.

Hesitantly, uncertainly, Jorimon took the initiative. After lengthy consideration she and four other women, landless peasants like herself, set up a savings and loan group in her village, Beltoil, in Bangladesh in December 1979.

She did so together with her husband, the village elders and the manager of the local branch of the Grameen Bank.

With the first loan, the equivalent of DM60, her family bought a simple rice thresher and a supply of unhusked rice.

With the proceeds of selling husked rice the monthly income of a family of five increased from DM20 to DM57.

They spend DM40 on food, DM5 on weekly loan repayment instalments, interest and savings and loan fund contributions, leaving DM12 for clothing, household effects and/or savings.

A year later, after repaying the first loan on schedule, Jorimon took out a second loan and bought a cow. The family's monthly income increased to DM80.

"We used to go hungry every day," she says, "but now. We worked like slaves in other people's homes. Now no-one insults us. The children go to school. We were unable to do so."

Her husband contributes toward further loan arrangements. The next target is

to buy a plot of land, to set up a small-scale timber business and to ensure that the family has a home of its own, a roof over its head.

Jorimon's tale is no exception. The Grameen Bank has 220,000 customers, 65 per cent of them women. It was set up a little over 10 years old and administers over DM7m in savings.

Interest payments cover costs. Ninety per cent of repayment commitments are met.

It is a success story that bears out the claim of the bank's founder, Professor Muhammad Yunus: "Bring the bank to the people and not people to the bank."

The bank is brought to the people mainly by 45,000 savings and loan groups. It is they who make the system work. Five members of each group agree among themselves who is to qualify for a loan, in what order, for what purpose and how much.

They guarantee weekly savings and repayment commitments. They are jointly responsible to the bank for these commitments.

They thus stand guarantee for the sums outstanding by means of an informal joint arrangement, not being able, as poor people, to offer the usual bank guarantees.

The Grameen Bank is but one example of a self-help system set up from within and from below. They have been set up in many places in the Third World to arrive

at a lasting improvement in living conditions for the poor.

Their common feature is that instead of fighting individual aspects of poverty they include them all: too little food, home and education, unemployment, sickness, lack of political power and lack of funds.

Self-help movements are based on individual effort, no matter how low the initial weekly contributions may be, and on mutual aid and the support of institutions they have called into being.

They are also rooted in local society and culture and on a living organisational structure based on participation.

Participation, support and mutual control are the features that jointly ensure the success of self-help schemes. The Grameen Bank has a rule that the third and fourth members of a group (members themselves decide who comes in which order) are not given a loan until the first and second members have punctually repaid their loans for eight weeks.

So the group are dependent on each other — for better or for worse.

The World Bank says that by the turn of the century an estimated one billion people will have no opportunity of "contributing by useful activity toward earning a living, looking after the family and meeting basic needs," to quote the grand old man of Roman Catholic social policy, Oswald von Nell-Breuning.

Self-help movements are unable on their own to solve this problem in its enormous overall dimension; so it is essential for public sector development aid to be more responsive to the idea of self-help.

It can lend support to development work organised and financed by governments and to local initiative and local efforts where cash or know-how are in short supply.

The World Bank called in 1978 for a comprehensive improvement in productivity for the poor. The "immense work effort" this requires, again to quote Fr von Nell-Breuning, can only be made if the poor are successfully motivated to help themselves.

Pida, short for Participation Institute for Development Alternatives, is based

in Sri Lanka. Its staff are trained in their villages, not at a training centre along school lines.

They learn while living and working alongside farmers, talking with them and trying to find out and understand what causes have led to them being in the position they are in and, slowly, to find out where their strength and creativity lie.

They then jointly consider, together with the farmers, what obstacles must be overcome and how the farmers can improve their situation.

Government development activity can be arranged on similar lines. Last June Grameen Bank managers conferred with board members of German savings banks responsible for savings and loan facilities.

They discussed how to set up financial instruments best suited to cater for the requirements of target groups.

Similar talks have been held by staff of the German technical cooperation agen-

cy with experienced members of self-help organisations in the Philippines.

How, they wondered, can the people participate in decision-making and implementation of rural development programmes?

The experience public sector development cooperation gains in this way can be used to extend its leeway in dealings with Third World governments.

Once it is in a position to submit clearly framed concepts and to present convincing examples a dialogue on effective means of fighting poverty will be possible.

It will be particularly promising when non-government social forces grasp the initiative in the Third World. In Andhra Pradesh, India, small farmers have gained access to local banks, previously inaccessible, via a development organisation of their own making, the Diviseema Social Society.

Similar schemes have been set up all over India. The state provides, both programmatically and institutionally, many public services, such as health care, agricultural advice and fertiliser supplies. But in reality many farmers have no access to them.

Public sector development cooperation can latch on to internal processes of this kind and help to improve framework conditions by means ranging from dialogue with the partner government to technical and financial aid.

This presupposes a careful check of the potential for self-help and reform in each case and requires an extremely sensitive approach to the problem.

In offering to promote such processes by means of a combination of public and private sector funds and facilities the leeway of the underprivileged can be extended and the road to self-help can be made more accessible.

Initial experience has been gained with both India and the Philippines of inter-governmental dialogue on social cooperation. Similar arrangements are envisaged with Latin American countries to help small farmers facing the threat of being driven off their land.

While self-help organisations support legal aid bureaus for small farmers, governments can provide technical cooperation and advice on improving the land registry, for instance.

Security of tenure and property rights are essential prerequisites of any kind of economic development.

Such a wide-ranging perspective may prompt a sceptical response. Why should governments, institutions and movements with different tasks join forces when they hardly know each other, frequently mistrust each other and may even be locked in mutual combat?

This scepticism may be warranted, but to set against it new social trends, new ideas and new values is not unrealistic. Their basic tenet is development by participation of the people concerned.

A further idea that is making headway in many Third World countries is that of public and private sector organisations working alongside each other to combat poverty by means of an all-round approach.

This can lead to fresh alliances between Third World and industrialised countries, as German examples show.

The Development Ministry and a number of government and non-government organisations have joined forces in a working party on self-help as a means of fighting poverty.

In a dialogue programme sponsored by the Central Committee of German Catholics work is in progress on concepts to promote independent organisation of the socially disadvantaged as a social policy task for associations. This is an exam-

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■ MONEY

Low-interest loans to be made available in bid to boost domestic spending

There has been a mixed reaction to the Bonn government's plans to stimulate domestic spending by making more public money available. The plan will make low-interest loans available to local authorities and small businesses. Under the scheme, 21 billion marks will be made available over three years. Of this, 15 billion marks will be distributed through Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau, a government-owned reconstruction organisation set up after the war. In other moves, the government is increasing the investment programme of the Bundespost, Germany's biggest employer; and intending to go ahead with a number of privatisations including Volkswagen. Former Economic Affairs Minister Count Otto Lambsdorff says he doesn't think the plan will help. It would need more money to solve international imbalances. Ernst-Moritz Lipp, chief economist for the Dresdner Bank, on the other hand, said he thought the plan was more than just window dressing. Andreas Nölting looks at the plan, which is a U-turn for the government, for the *Hannoversche Allgemeine*.

Bonn's economic policies have their back to the wall. Suddenly Chancellor Kohl's government has got into a position which, in the government's own view, should not have happened.

The economy is out of breath, the state is being challenged. Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg and Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann are not to be envied.

They have to make the economy get a move on again and so have to say goodbye to the legend of perpetual economic upswings.

The Federal Republic must become the driving force of the world economy. America and West Germany's European neighbours have been demanding this for a long time. But the appeals for incentives to the economy have fallen on deaf ears in Bonn.

Expectations of growth have had to be cut back while the dollar dropped to one record low after another and the stock markets suffered from the wounds of "Black Monday," 19 October.

What does a government do when required to introduce incentives into the economy?

It decides on a spending programme to strengthen the domestic market. It invests and so creates new purchasing power and jobs.

But that is just what Bonn cannot do without losing face — that is what is tricky about the situation.

Chancellor Kohl and Finance Minister Stoltenberg, ever eager to introduce economies, have chosen a course that points in the opposite direction.

Since Chancellor Kohl took over in 1982 the official government line is that the state should hold itself aloof from the economy. More importantly, the state should not live off credit and should spend less if income is insufficient.

The public sector share in GNP, the yardstick of state intervention in the economy, must go down. Free market forces will put everything to rights.

Now Stoltenberg has to give his approval to a public spending programme running into billions, revealing his ideological bankruptcy.

He had a hard fight on his hands justifying an increased public borrowing requirement of almost DM30bn in the 1988 budget.

The president of the Confederation of German Industry, Tyll Necker, said that the whole Kohl government had become a prisoner of its previously-held dictums.

The Bonn government has to find a politically harmless way to be able to preserve face.

Nevertheless the measures available show a change of course in economic policies. Decisions will now have to be taken that previously were regarded as unsuitable, even damaging.

This means a state injection of stimulating credit, an investment programme for the Reconstruction Loan Corporation in Frankfurt (through which government aid to developing countries is funnelled) and environmental protection investment for cities and local authorities.

Whether these policies will come off remains doubtful. Many cities and local authorities are up to their necks in financial hot water. Even if the full DM15bn in mind could be ladled out that would certainly not be the stimulant that the markets are waiting for.

It is also doubtful if West German businessmen are only waiting for the Federal Republic to reduce interest rates so that they can then greedily soak up the cheap money for investment.

Many companies have plenty of money and they can finance their businesses easily without credits, but they just won't do so.

They prefer to invest abroad and put the cash on deposit so long as this promises a higher rate of return than investment in their own country.

Former Economic Affairs Minister Karl Schiller said: "The trough is full but the horse won't drink."

Supply-oriented economic policies have shown themselves to be mistaken. The equation profits equals investment equals jobs has not come off.

The policies of deregulated markets have lost their lustre. It seems that recession can come quicker than was previously assumed.

But the worst can be avoided now that economic factors are healthier. There is no point in doing anything in dribs and drabs. Things must be done in a big way.

Economic policies must acknowledge their social responsibilities and have en-

Hannoversche Allgemeine

ough courage to make uncomfortable decisions.

These policies must find an answer straight away as to how a free enterprise economy, tempered by social justice and the need to safeguard community interests, linked to the international economic structure, can live with stagnating growth rates and markets, without having catastrophic effects on the labour market.

Conventional economic policy programmes miss their point in markets that are, in the classical sense, saturated.

A clear signal must be given straight away to counteract the hurly-burly on money markets. Bonn is not alone in puzzling over just what that signal should be.

Andreas Nölting
(Hannoversche Allgemeine
2 December 1987)

Key interest rates cut by Bundesbank

West Germany's central bank, the Bundesbank, has lowered its main interest rate from 3 per cent to 2.5 per cent. The discount rate also comes down — to a record low of 2.5 per cent. The change is intended to help the dollar recovery, making it less attractive for people to sell dollars as buy marks. British, French, Swiss, Austrian, Dutch and Belgian rates have also been cut.

Cautiously, almost silently, central banks in Frankfurt, Paris, Amsterdam and Vienna adjusted interest-rate levels for short-term money by one point.

This concerted course of action shows that the European central banks are willing to work together more closely.

But they could only impress the markets for one day with their decision and consistent behaviour.

The dollar exchange rate, which should have been stabilised by the second drop in interest rates within a few weeks, rose only temporarily and then dropped back.

Although the gap between interest rates in the United States was widened by the step taken by the Europeans, money movements were only influenced to a limited degree by dollar investment.

There are a whole series of sound reasons why internationally-minded investors did not move more strongly into dollar commitments that obviously yielded more.

Experience shows that before a presidential election in the United States interest rates are always low. Furthermore the planned reduction of the US budget deficit turned out to be modest.

But more importantly the latest American foreign trade figures were known. Once more they were deeply in the red. In the third quarter of this year the reached a record deficit of \$40bn.

These three factors put the fear into the hearts of investors that the dollar had not reached the bottom and that devaluation losses in dollar commitments would be more significant than interest earnings.

Nevertheless Europeans did not regard the drop in interest rates as a wash-out. France in particular profited. The French central bank had a little room for manoeuvre by the German interest rate reduction.

French interest rates, excessive from
Continued on page 11

■ CONSUMER AFFAIRS

Dispute over the value of sterilising food by radioactive bombardment

After Chernobyl, tonnes of contaminated vegetables were dumped on waste tips. So isn't the very idea of bombarding food with radioactivity to preserve it an outrage? No.

This indignation is based on a tenacious but mistaken prejudice, the belief that radiation-bombarded foodstuffs are radioactive. They aren't.

Given the level of radiation to which food is exposed, contamination is as improbable as the likelihood of X-ray patients being made radioactive.

Frequent confusion arises from the fact that the Chernobyl cloud contained radioactive substances such as caesium 137 which were precipitated straight on to lettuce, pasture, rivers and ponds, transforming food and fodder into radioactive substances.

Conservation is another matter. Radioactive matter is not precipitated; high-energy radiation passes through objects and kills micro-organisms, germs and insects, sterilising them.

After radioactive bombardment there is no residual radiation unless extremely high doses are used, releasing energy in quantities that are neither suitable nor permissible for the purpose.

The microbicidal effect of ionised radiation, such as that of cobalt 60 products, was discovered at the end of the 19th century.

It was soon clear that food treated in this way did not become radioactive.



What wasn't clear was what chemical reactions might be triggered in the foodstuffs bombarded.

The so-called free radicals, or groups of atoms behaving like a single atom and passing unchanged from one compound to another, can combine with other ingredients to form fresh substances.

They might, it was feared, include substances that spread diseases or even caused cancer.

Wide-ranging animal feeding experiments and accompanying probes were early undertaken in many countries, including work at the Federal Food Research Establishment (BFE) in Karlsruhe.

All arrived at the conclusion, confirmed more than once by the World Health Organisation (WHO), that:

"When radiation techniques are put to appropriate use there can be no objections to irradiated foodstuffs on health grounds."

What is more, the chemical changes are so slight and, according to BFE research chemist Henry Delinsee, found in untreated food in comparable quantities — with the result that proof of their existence is no clear sign that food is either treated or untreated.

BFE institute director Johannes Diehl sees the most pressing current problem as being that radioactive bombardment of foodstuffs is banned in the Federal Republic of Germany, whereas imports from countries such as Belgium or Holland, where the technique is permitted, cannot be tested to show for sure whether they have been so treated.

"The changes are so negligible," he says, "that they cannot be measured."

For this reason alone, he says, uniform international regulations are urgently required. "Politicians must either ban or permit irradiation of foodstuffs as a matter of principle."

It is not for the BFE to decide which is the preferable solution in political terms; it can merely give its expert judgement.

It is unambiguous: "On the basis of international investigations and experiments of its own the BFE has neither medicinal nor nutritional misgivings to irradiated foodstuffs."

Despite the heavy investment (a radiation device and safety equipment cost several million Deutschmarks) Herr Diehl no longer sees any economic obstacles.

Indeed, the manufacture of, say, dried soups might benefit from irradiation, creating greater product safety as it boosted hygiene.

The process would also make it possible to make exotic fruit keep longer and travel at less expense. It would thus open up new markets.

Yet it doesn't only have benefits. The colour, taste and consistency of treated food can change for the worse.

Special treatment conditions may be needed; food may, for instance, have to be deep-frozen.

Even after treatment the product must continue to be carefully packaged as protection from recontamination by micro-organisms.

What is more, vitamins may be destroyed, but that is true of many other preservation techniques, all of which may make foodstuffs keep longer but need not make them better.

An apple's vitamin C count is, after all, still highest when it is freshly picked from the tree.

Henry Delinsee and BFE physicist Dieter Ehlermann, who for years have been associated with foodstuff irradiation, its possibilities and limitations, and methods of identifying treated produce, nonetheless approve of the process.

The vitamin C count of potatoes, for instance, can decline far faster due to length of storage than due to radiation.

The quantity of harmful substances generated, always assuming any are, may be considered very small.

Diehl even goes a step further. Potatoes are generally laced with chemicals to prevent them from germinating. Germination can be prevented by radioactive bombardment at a much lower risk to the environment.

Critics' reservations are not wholly dispelled by these arguments. Food writer Margret Uhle, for instance, has warned of long-term consequences that are not yet even clear.

She recalls that the highly toxic effect of minute traces of dioxins and furans was not discovered until very late in the day.

If the harmful nature of the process is not established until after it has been generally introduced it may be too late.

Ehlermann and Delinsee admit that on the basis of present scientific knowledge that may be most unlikely, but it cannot be ruled out entirely.

Modern, large-scale manufacturing processes have made radioactive bombardment necessary, Diehl says.

In the family circle or among self-supporting food-growers the health hazards of food impurities are always limited to a handful of people.

In large-scale food preparation, in contrast, hundreds of people may be affected.

That is why stricter hygienic requirements are necessary, and they can only be met by means of radiation bombardment of, say, spices.

Dried spices contain so little water that they aren't perishable, but they may, as dry matter, carry germ micro-organisms and make otherwise hygienic produce impure when added during cooking or serving.

Much the same applies to factory farming, the problems of which may readily be brought under control by means of radiation treatment.

Critics may object that this treatment tends to encourage unwholesome trends such as battery farming, but Diehl will hear nothing of such claims.

Such trends cannot be kept in check by a ban, while consumers must be protected from unhygienic produce.

Radioactive bombardment of foodstuffs is not, when all is said and done, considered as an alternative to conventional preservation techniques. It is a supplementary technique and an answer to new trends.

This alternative role is the real thorn in the critics' flesh. Preservation, whether by physical techniques such as drying and heating or by chemical processes such as curing and pickling, was initially needed to maintain food supplies from one harvest season to the next.

Radioactive bombardment is based more on economic and process engineering grounds than on the sheer need for survival.

Many advocates of an ecological approach to nutrition argue that natural or organic food is always to be preferred.

But this argument has much in common with the dispute over the nutritional value of pasteurised milk.

This, says Ehlermann, is an issue that can be discussed, but not on the basis of erroneous arguments such as alleged radioactivity or high toxicity of irradiated food.

These, he notes, are arguments that have definitely been disproved.

Besides, Diehl adds, the debate is conducted on too emotional a basis, rather than objectively or level-headedly, because the uses to which foodstuff irradiation may be put are greatly overestimated.

Yet even if the technique were generally accepted and highly economical, five per cent at most of the world's foodstuff output could be preserved in this way by the turn of the century.

"More is out of the question," he says, "and less is likelier."

Christian Brauner
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,
Bonn, 27 November 1987)

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■ SHIPPING

Manpower shortage hinders the revival of a port

A strange anomaly in a world dominated by the issue of unemployment: there are not enough workers to handle the ships tied up at Hamburg's wharves. For years, the port has been cutting back on labour as business declined. Now, business is suddenly booming and the port can't handle it all. One reason is that unemployed men stand to have half of what they earn deducted from their dole money if they opt for spending a tough day on the wharves. But it is much more complicated than that, as Hans-Jürgen Nordhoff reports for *Frankfurter Rundschau*.

About 15,000 ocean-going ships call at Hamburg every year. The number has suddenly begun increasing but there are not enough dockers to handle them.

After years of reducing port personnel it has become impossible to handle a rush. Ships are lying longer at anchor, berthing charges mount and Hamburg port's competitive position is endangered.

The situation suddenly deteriorated on 26 October when the number of ships wanting to discharge cargo hit levels unseen for years.

There were vessels with apples from Australia, grapefruit from Cuba, kiwi-fruit from New Zealand, bananas from Costa Rica, grapes from Greece, meat from Argentina, and coffee from Colombia and Guatemala. In addition, sugar was waiting to be loaded for India.

A spokesman for the Hamburg Port Operators Association (German initials GHBG) said: "All these are labour intensive cargoes, made up of cartons and sacks."

Normally Hamburg port handles from three to 13 conventional freighters daily; at peak periods 23. But the figure has crept up to 36 vessels. If container-ships and liquid tankers, far less labour intensive, are added the figure adds up to 60 ships.

Three hundred extra dockers were sought, but only about 60 found.

Klaus-Dieter Fischer, board member of the Hamburg Port Marketing Organisation, said: "There are about 8,800 workers employed in three shifts round the clock. Of these about 7,700 are employed by private firms in the port and 1,100 by GHBG. All of them have regular work contracts."

He continued: "GHBG arranges for labour to be drawn from its pool according to the needs of individual firms and at peak periods takes on an additional 400 from locations around Hamburg. We have good cooperation arrangements with Lübeck port."

If that is not enough efforts are made to take on unemployed men. But the tough work on the berths is not worth it for them, because a half of what they earn is deducted against their unemployment benefits.

Efforts are being made to get round this hurdle so as to be able to use unemployed men as a reserve.

Men who work in the port are taken out of the Labour Exchange Office unemployed lists so that they can, for short periods, be paid in full while working in the docks.

When they have finished their tem-

porary work they can return to the unemployment benefit scheme.

Two hundred people are to be given these limited work contracts. The first 50 began working shifts at the beginning of November. Port operators hope that more will join the scheme.

Six years ago 2,500 more people were employed at Hamburg port terminals than are employed there today. Since then container traffic has developed considerably, and container ships are not labour intensive.

Speaking on the personnel situation Herr Fischer said: "We can handle normal situations. There are bottlenecks only on about 15 days in the year, particularly at the weekends."

"Hardly any ships are loaded or discharged in Rotterdam, for example, at the weekend. So many ships sail up to Hamburg on Saturday or Sunday," he said.

A GHBG spokesman had another explanation for the strained situation: "We have not taken on any new people because GHBG is to take over 250 dockers from port firms, where there is a surplus of dockers, from 1 January 1988."

He continued: "Then this year the end of the year rush has begun earlier. Usually it does not begin until about 15 November."

This rush includes cargoes of citrus and tropical fruits, coffee, meat and many other items that are especially imported for the Christmas celebrations.

Uwe Schröder, local secretary of the ports section of the public services trade union, sees matters differently. He said that at present normal work was being done by auxiliary workers so that firms could get out of having to pay Christmas and holiday bonuses.

Also it is true to say that Hamburg's major competitor, Rotterdam, has for years had a lead.

In 1981 Rotterdam, the largest port in Europe, handled 250 million tons of cargo, of which 38.8 million tons were general cargo. The Dutch port maintained this level: in 1986 Rotterdam handled 256.8 million tons of cargo of which 45.9 million tons were general cargo.

In 1981 Hamburg handled 61.4 million tons of cargo with 19.6 million tons

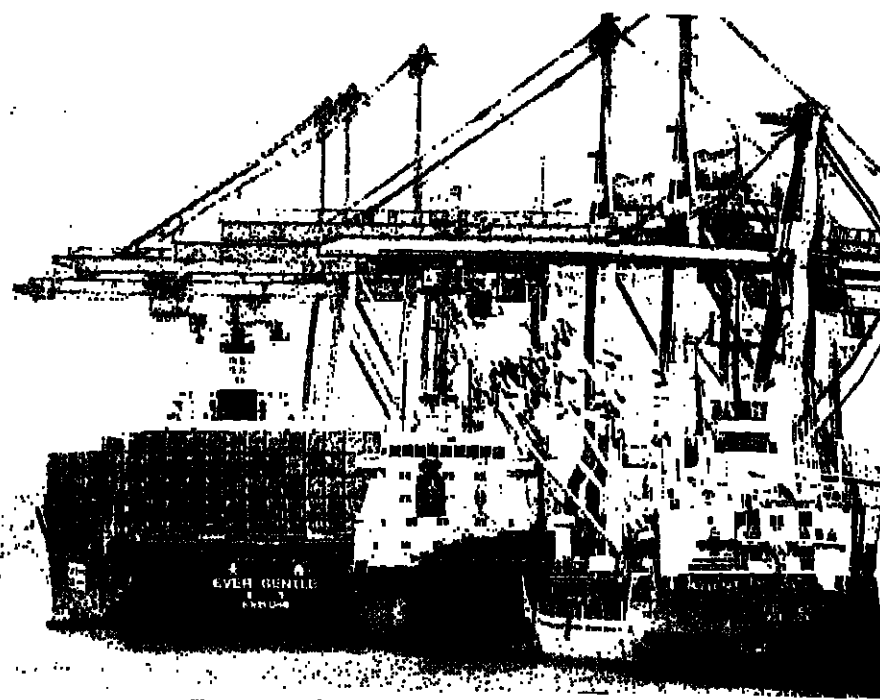
of general cargo, but up to 1986 there was a drop in this figure of more than ten per cent to 54.5 million tons, but an increase of general cargo handled to 21.5 million tons.

One of the reasons for the decline in Hamburg's total cargo figures was the oil pipeline link Wilhelmshaven-Hamburg, which knocked oil figures from the total Hamburg port statistics.

Hamburg not only has to compete with Rotterdam but also with Antwerp, Bremen, Emden and Wilhelmshaven.

Another problem when Hamburg is compared with the Dutch and Belgians is the tariff for trucking within Germany to German ports.

Because there is a laid-down tariff within West Germany it is dearer to car-



Things are happening again down at the pier.

(Photo: Hafen Hamburg)

Freighter crew gets smaller with automation

Modern freighters have a crew of 18. This compares with 30 or more on a general cargo vessel 20 years ago.

Smaller crews are one way of reducing costs. The West German Shipowners Association (German initials VDR) in Hamburg thinks that crews should be even smaller. It is trying to get acceptance for the idea of a nine-man crew.

VDR official Werner Schotteindreyer revealed details of this plan at the shipping exhibition, Europort, in Amsterdam.

He said that, with automation, a crew of nine would be enough for normal operations.

There would be: the captain, two senior and two junior officers, an additionally-trained boatswain, a ship's mechanic (the new, fancy name proposed for the former seaman) and two trainees.

A pre-requisite for this mini-crew is that every man must have two qualifications.

Crewmen can obtain these qualifications now; training is not given for ordinary seamen any longer but for multi-purpose crewmen (MPCs), who can work in the engine room as well as on deck as needed and will be named "Schiffsmechaniker," ship's mechanicians.

The situation has not developed so far in the case of navigators and engineers. The first training courses for additional certificates, engineers as navigators and navigators as engineers, will be handed out in June 1988.

A second course has begun. In both courses 35 engineers and 42 navigators have taken part.

Despite heated protests from ship officers the VDR continues undaunted with this crewing concept.

A prerequisite for crewing a vessel with nine is the system of one man on the bridge per watch.

With the help of automation, he supervises the ship's course, the operations of the ship's engines and replaces the former lookout man.

The VDR thinks it is possible to operate a vessel with a nine-man crew without reducing safety requirements.

Dieter F. Hentel

(Die Welt, Bonn, 17 November 1987)

■ AVIATION

Frayed tempers at constant delays: Frankfurt airport congestion worsens

Frankfurter Rundschau

Frankfurt airport is becoming so congested that long waiting times might make passengers decide against flying with them.

Nerve-racked pilots are demanding a cutback in the number of flights. Air traffic control staff often work on the brink of illegality to make sure planes take off and land safely. No-one knows how to solve the problem.

The airport authority is less keen than it used to be on advertising its services with the old slogan that changing planes at Rhine-Main need not take more than 45 minutes.

The civil aviation boom is expected to continue. In the first nine months of this year Frankfurt handled over 200,000 flight movements, or 7.1 per cent more than in the same period last year.

The number of passengers landing and taking off at Frankfurt increased by 13.9 per cent to about 17.5 million, but passengers are growing steadily less satisfied with the service.

On 22 October, when delays were particularly annoying, outraged passengers and Lufthansa ground staff almost exchanged blows.

Lufthansa has always claimed to be a stickler for punctuality, but it can no longer claim with an easy conscience to be always punctual.

Unofficial reports confirm growing tension between the airline and the airport authority.

Proposals to remedy congestion at an airport that may not qualify as civil aviation's sick man of Europe but where services no longer run as smoothly and efficiently as they once did are limited to details that will only have a long-term effect.

The Federal Air Safety Control Authority for one has come in for criticism, unlike control tower staff, who are almost universally agreed to work hard under heaviest pressure.

The exception is a solitary aviation news agency which suspects them of covertly working to rule.

But pilots, the Civil Airports Association, the staff association and the national executive of DAG, the white-collar workers trade union, have all called for improvements in technical equipment and an increase in manpower.

The airports association and the works council chairman of the air safety control authority, Wolfgang Heim, have also called for an extension of overcrowded air space allocated to civil aviation — at the expense of air space reserved for military aviation.

Heim also says his authority's staff must be given overall responsibility for civil and military air safety coordination.

He says a separate countrywide military supervision of air space is a heavy drain on capacity.

Technical equipment on board some jet airliners is, he goes on to say, more advanced than in control towers where staff may soon be in short supply.

Control tower staff are civil servants

and as such not very highly paid, so the incentive to join the service is strictly limited.

The situation at Rhine-Main is said to have been catastrophic for months. Gerhard Bäuschlein, deputy press spokesman for the air safety control authority, feels 20-minute delays no longer deserve a mention.

Last Tuesday, he says, was a "quiet day" — with delays of 45 minutes or so. As a rule delays are seldom less than an hour.

Fog naturally makes matters even worse. It is more than a match for even the most advanced technology.

Rhine-Main has equipment to help similarly equipped aircraft to land safely in poorest visibility, but the nearest aircraft with the same electronic equipment on board must be up to 12 miles away.

The first aircraft to land must taxi off the runway as soon as possible in the fog to make sure that its electronics does not overlap with the next aircraft coming in to land.

If it doesn't, the next aircraft must abandon the run-in, bank, circle and come in for a second attempt to land. Communications with the control tower would otherwise be chaotic and air safety in jeopardy.

The rapid increase in air traffic is not the only factor that is proving too much for German airports, especially Frankfurt and Munich.

Executive aircraft and feeder flights from smaller airports such as Saarbrücken, Ulm, Nuremberg and so on make life particularly difficult for control tower staff.

They have to slip in between larger airliners and land at greater intervals as otherwise they might be snarled up in the turbulence caused by the jumbos.

Restriction of European air traffic has also led to foreign competitors and smaller airlines gaining a foothold on short domestic runs, much to Lufthansa's chagrin.

Herr Bäuschlein says an entirely new generation of air safety control equipment cannot be expected until the 1990s.

At present the emphasis is on technical improvements in coordination of radar and flight planning data to ease the burden on control tower staff who, as he sarcastically puts it, still have to rely on the "steam telephone."

Mention is no longer made of peaks and troughs in air traffic at Frankfurt. Any delays in morning flights from Munich or foreign airports is bound to snowball, causing delays all day.

Air safety control authority staff announced last summer that take-off and landing runway conditions in Frankfurt

made it impossible to coordinate more than a specific number of flight movements an hour.

They say the hourly maximum is 64, or 32 take-offs and 32 landings an hour in perfect weather.

This number can vary, depending on the volume of traffic, the varieties of planes landing and taking off and the prevailing weather conditions.

Control tower staff can, for instance, help 50 aircraft to land in the course of an hour, but that means no more than 14 take-offs.

The new runway that was so controversial a few years ago has proved invaluable in connection with the current congestion.

On 8 November no less than 85.9 per cent of take-offs were from the new runway, leaving the two parallel runways free for landings.

In the process take-offs were authorised in weather conditions that were anything but convenient for the new runway. As one control tower officer put it: "They are using the new runway for all they are worth."

Yet the Frankfurt airport authority is banking on further extensions and even more passengers. The planners have most definite ideas in mind.

For one, they expect the air safety control authority to increase its flight coordination ceiling from 64 to 70 movements an hour as envisaged for flight movements and passenger volume as forecast for the 1990s.

These estimates have long been overtaken by events. The 1990s figures already apply.

But the air safety control agency refuses on safety grounds to exceed 70 movements an hour as long as the airport retains its present runway system.

So the Frankfurt airport authority plans to transfer regional feeder flights from Rhine-Main to nearby Egelsbach, where an instrument landing system will need to be updated and a runway will need to be realigned.

The airport authority plans to give preference to international flights and to large airliners in Frankfurt.

Lufthansa is to be advised to reduce its number of regular feeder flights to and from Frankfurt.

Lufthansa would also be well advised to transfer passengers from Frankfurt to Düsseldorf, Cologne or Munich by Bundesbahn intercity express rather than by domestic flights.

Regular coach services would need to be run between Egelsbach and Frankfurt. Yet even those who thought up Egelsbach are doubtful whether it can be made politically palatable to the general public.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 17 November 1987)

Continued from page 4

they achieve in government". An adequate explanation for the changes in the political landscape would then be that "voters did not receive what they were promised".

The thesis forwarded by the British side that the restructuring of the party system in Britain was caused by the decline of the Labour Party or indeed the "death of Socialism", is less "superficial".

However, in view of the sober relationship the British have to politics such a fundamental judgement is unlikely to hold true for ever.

"Don't be too shocked," David Butler from Nuffield College, Oxford, told the German guests, "if in 1990 you read the following: Labour Party on the brink of success!"

Hermann Rudolph
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 23 November 1987)

Lufthansa hopes for a profit despite dollar

The dollar's exchange rate decline cannot fail to affect Lufthansa profits. It affects us immediately as the airline of a strongly export-oriented country," Lufthansa chief executive Heinz Ruhnau told *Die Welt*.

Yet he was confident the airline would end the current financial year in the black after losses totalling DM66.6m last year.

"We broke even a month earlier than planned," he said, explaining his optimism.

In the first eight months of 1987 Lufthansa logged double-figure passenger and air cargo growth rates.

Its nearly twelve million passengers were about 11 per cent up on January to August 1986, while air freight was up 13.4 per cent to 464,000 tonnes.

Overall productivity, he said, was up eight per cent in the first three quarters of 1987. The airline's financial condition was "outstandingly sound."

Cash flow was expected to exceed DM1bn this year, as against DM900m in 1986, enabling Lufthansa to finance between 60 and 70 per cent of its investments from cash in hand.

Herr Ruhnau was critical of the lack of infrastructure in European air traffic in general and German civil aviation in particular.

"We need a better and more uniform European infrastructure," he said. "Some infrastructure in the Federal Republic lags behind standards in other countries."

The civil aviation boom already triggered by the imminent derestriction of Eu-

ropean air traffic is largely to blame for substantial delays, especially in Munich.

"Munich is for us the narrowest bottleneck. But Europe basically has nothing but bottleneck airports, such as Munich, Frankfurt, London or Paris."

Overflights of Federal Republic air space have grown so numerous that this sector is already "fully booked" where domestic traffic is concerned.

Herr Ruhnau feels serious problems will lie ahead in the lack of control over traffic flows.

Derestriction of European civil aviation, due to be approved by European Community leaders at the Copenhagen summit, is expected to lend a "new and dynamic impetus" by deregulating capacities on individual routes, by widening fare bandwidths and by expanding regional traffic.

That should mean a wider range of flights and attractive fares, but not cheaper domestic fares, or so the Lufthansa chief executive says. Domestic routes are short-haul and cost-intensive.

For Lufthansa derestriction means that the airline will need to defend its powerful position in Europe. "Otherwise it will stand no chance of holding its own in international competition."

Herr Ruhnau says he is sure there will be mergers but can't see who will merge with whom. By the 1990s there will be only five or six major airlines left in Europe.

They will, he says, no longer be national carriers in the accepted sense of the term; they will be European carriers with a national character.

Wilhelm Furter
(Die Welt, Bonn, 5 November 1987)

LITERATURE

Writers' club holds the flame for prisoners of conscience

Angelika Mechtel, who wrote this article for *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, writes novels and children's books. She is responsible in the German PEN Club for taking up the cases of imprisoned and persecuted writers in various parts of the world.

15 November is Writers in Prison Day every year. That is the day when the international writers' organisation, PEN, tries to draw international attention to men and women writers in prison in many parts of the world for political reasons.

There are 338 writers imprisoned in 30 countries: 52 in Europe, 92 in the Middle East, 102 in Asia, 47 in Africa and 45 in Latin America.

Examples range from an Ethiopian journalist, not yet 35 and the mother of three; to a Turkish poet who has been tortured; and a Russian novelist in a psychiatric clinic.

There is concern about a Vietnamese poet who has been in prison for 10 years without trial and a Mexican singer-songwriter sentenced for a bank robbery he did not commit.

"Writers in Prison Day" is meant to draw attention to people from various geographic and political regions, young and old, communists and anti-communists, writers and publicists, united by their fate, whether they are held in prison in Addis Ababa, Izmir, in the Ukraine, Hanoi or Mexico City.

PEN stands for "Poet, Essayist and Novelist," for "Playwright, Editor and Non-fiction."

PEN also stands for the "Republic of Literature" as the founder put it, the British authoress Catherine Amy Dawson Scott, a Republic of Literature which, according to the PEN charter binds all to strive for international understanding, friendship and worldwide freedom for literature.

The political persecution of writers and commentators on current political topics is not new. It is not the problem of any individual political system or any particular part of the world.

Since writing began writers have been censored, persecuted, condemned, imprisoned, abducted, exiled, tortured and murdered, deeds of the political power machine, the ruling ideology and interests. Writers have been the target for the absolutist claims of totalitarians in the East and the West, in the communist and capitalist worlds.

Worldwide there are currently 338 writers either awaiting trial or condemned and imprisoned. It is not unusual for them to be imprisoned without trial.

There are 52 writers, men and women, in prison in Europe, in labour camps or psychiatric clinics. In the Middle East there are 92; in Asia 102; in Africa 47 and 45 in Latin America.

Over the past year conditions for authors and writers in Europe, Latin America and the Middle East have eased to some extent; in Asia and Africa there is an increased tendency towards political persecution.

In Africa it has now become particularly dangerous to be a writer.

Vietnam is one of the most relentless persecutors of writers. There are 61 writers and authors in Vietnamese prisons.

Then comes Turkey with 58, followed by the USSR with 42, although it

was a lot more — more than half have been released.

These figures do not include cases of censorship, publication prohibitions or bans on leaving the country, nor cases of murder, mainly journalists.

To quote one example; in Mexico alone eight writers were killed in the streets in the past two years.

From a psychological point of view persecution, condemnation, imprisonment, exile and abduction of people who think differently are associated with fear, with a confession of powerlessness.

These actions are linked to a fear of an opposition that could place a question mark against the totalitarian demands of a power system.

Here the writer's opposition takes on a special aspect. His or her abilities are often related to abilities to make political contexts in some way visible at a glance with an appeal to the emotions, putting the state's power base, its ideas and demands into question?

Sometimes all that is needed is an article, a column in a newspaper, a poem or a short-story to open a window and give an insight into political and social freedom.

This creates conflict in a totalitarian system.

Since 1961 PEN has had a "Writers in Prison Committee." Along with the annual meeting of writers, organised by

PEN, this committee fulfils the most important point in the PEN charter: to work actively for freedom of literature.

More than a third of all national PEN centres support the committee by making contact with imprisoned men and women writers, presenting petitions to the authorities and government representatives, supporting writers' families and drawing public attention to the persecution of writers and authors.

Because of the PEN's reputation, it is often able to lighten the conditions of imprisonment and, in some cases, even bring about early release.

Writers who seem to be particularly threatened are put under PEN protection and elected honorary members of a national centre.

The West German PEN centre has three honorary members;

The 68-year-old Ukrainian novelist Viktor Rasfalsky who, with some breaks, has been in Russian psychiatric clinics since 1954;

The Ethiopian journalist Martha Kumsa, 34, the mother of three, a member of the Oromo tribe that is persecuted in Ethiopia. Since 1980 she has been held in the central prison in Addis Ababa;

And the Mexican singer-songwriter Israel Gutiérrez Hernández, called "Pinchi," 36, arrested by the secret police in 1984. With a confession, extract-

ed under torture, he was sentenced to 10 years and one month.

Many imprisoned writers are very young and have just begun their writing careers.

Others, until they were imprisoned, worked in the normal way on a newspaper or with a radio or television station.

Some of them are well-known within their own linguistic boundaries.

Over the past few years writers of international reputation have been let alone. Even states that relentlessly pursue torture policies have fought off the bad image they gain from imprisoning prominent writers.

An Israel Gutiérrez Hernández, a Martha Kumsa or a Viktor Rasfalsky are not a Haroldo Conti, a Václav Havel, a Breiten Breitenbach or a Wob Soyinka.

Perhaps they think and work at a very different level. We do not know, because it has only been possible to get hold of and have translated a few poems by our young Mexican colleague.

Only in the rarest of cases is it possible to get hold of texts written by the writers we concern ourselves with and get these texts translated.

The texts that are available from imprisoned PEN writers reached PEN International in London in one illegal way or another. Many of the translations are translations at second hand.

The 338 writers are 338 men and women to whom we have to show our commitment. We have to do it because we have political independence to a considerable degree. We live in a state that has had to learn to free itself from bondage.

Angelika Mechtel
(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 28 November 1987)

Bid to stop sale of German exile's house

Lion Feuchtwanger was born in Munich in 1884. He is probably best known for his play, *Jew Siles*, which appeared in 1925. It became a world bestseller and was filmed in England in 1933. He went on to deal with subjects such as Elizabeth I and Mary, Queen of Scots, Josephus, Nero, the French Revolution and the French Resistance. He pumped new life into historical romances with touches of modern psychology. Critics admired his flair for situation, his readable style and liberal, humane sentiments. In collaboration with Brecht he produced the dramas *Edward II* (after Marlowe), *Kalkutta* and *Die Gesichte der Simone Machard* (in America in 1942). Nazi persecution sent him into exile in France in 1934, the year he published *Die Geschwister Oppermann*, which depicted the rise of the Nazis. Feuchtwanger moved to California in 1941 where he died in 1958.

ries, incunabula such as the "Nuremberg Chronicle" from 1493 and many first printings of works by Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, Kleist, Heine, E.T.A. Hoffmann and others.

The house is badly in need of renovation and architects have estimated that total cost would be \$650,000. The University is having difficulty finding this sum.

The University Board is now considering disposing of the house in a prime location in Pacific Palisades and setting up a Lion Feuchtwanger Memorial Library in the University grounds with the proceeds.

This would be an irreplaceable loss for German literary history, however.

A group of writers, commentators and politicians in West Germany has been formed, people who feel obligated to the refugees driven into exile by the Nazis.

They want to make a solid contribution, posthumously, to those representatives of the good aspects of the German spirit who were exiled by the Nazis.

In view of the huge sums being allocated for a monster museum to German history (in Berlin) they hope to be able to mobilise private and public donors for the preservation of the house.

President Richard von Weizsäcker has been asked for his support.

It is hoped to make of the house a kind of Villa Massimo of literature which can be used by writers and literary researchers as a guest house and place to work in.

There is interest in East Germany to preserve the house. East Germany has been concerned about exile literature for longer than West Germany, particularly during the Cold War.

East German Professor von Hofe said that contact should be made with writers in both Germanies to rescue the house.

A possible time to get things moving could be the 13 December when there is to be a Marta Feuchtwanger Memorial Celebration.

Until her death at 96 she worked tirelessly to maintain interest in the legacy left by her husband and his refugee colleagues.

Volker Skierka
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 27 November 1987)

FILMS

An imaginative challenge to the limits of the documentary

Hannoversche Allgemeine

A young woman focuses her video-camera on children playing in a radio shop in the village of Hillesheim in the Eifel.

With astonishment they recognise themselves on one of the television screens, flickering over satellite-transmitted pictures received by the whole of Europe. This final scene from the documentary *Ende einer Vorstellung* by Annelie Runge at the 11th Duisburg Documentary Film Festival was of particular significance for the documentaries screened at this year's event.

As an antidote to the soap opera character of many TV programmes Runge successfully combines scenes from family life with newsreels on the German media.

With scenes like this, taken from the life around them, film-makers this time imaginatively challenged the limits of the documentary film world.

In this way the 30-minute-long contribution *Mein Tag im Dunkeln* by Werner Zeindler left a lasting impression. His film was about the 85-year-old George A. Oedemann who has been blind for the past ten years or more.

It was based on a sound cassette of a radio competition for old people entitled "Something from my life" in which he

Clips from the film concentrated all the time on the surprisingly young hands of the blind man, that are now his primary organs of perception, as these hands felt their way through the room.

The pictures of these hands, insistent and quiet, prepared the viewer for George Oedemann's fascinating story.

It sounds a paradox but *Mein Tag im Dunkeln* is a film that in its sensitivity gives an insight into blindness.

It is traditional at the Duisburg Festival to include films about various sectors of the working world. The opening film was part of this tradition.

Johannes Backe, in his documentary *Der 28jähige Egon*, traced the 14-day trip of the crew of an inland waterways motor vessel.

Captain Egon commands one of the most modern vessels on the Rhine. It has

Continued from page 6

an economic policy point of view, could be eased down a little without having to worry about a drop in the French franc against the Deutschmark.

Furthermore the poor American foreign trade figures would certainly be well noted by the markets without any new interest rate move.

By this move the Bundesbank particularly made clear that it was prepared to pursue a new course more resolutely than before and to take on more responsibility for economic developments.

From the Bundesbank's viewpoint this move should be indication enough that the bank was now prepared to mark down the bank rate if others, particularly the United States, did their best to stabilise the exchange rate.

As regards the economy the crucial reversal of the German central bank rate could imply that the money supply,

28 times the tonnage of the vessel he served on 30 years ago when he began his career in inland waterways on a steam tug.

Backe succeeds in describing the process of change from the labour-intensive tug to the highly-rationalised motor vessel more by his commentary and chats with the crew than with his slick aesthetic sequences that tell very little about the hardness of life on board an inland waterways vessel.

Maschinensturm was a radical video production that tackled a taboo theme in our industrialised society, made by the Hamburger Medienzentrum "Die Thede". It was one of the few contributions to the Duisburg Festival made without funds from television.

It questioned how to resist the structural power of the new technologies, technologies that rationalise work certainly but increase the pressure on workers.

Maschinensturm was given this year's documentary film prize award by the film critics association, sharing the award with *Spalprozesse* by Bertram Verhaag and Claus Strigel.

This film documented the opposition in the Upper Palatinate to the construction of the nuclear recycling plant at Wackersdorf, without going into the contradictions in attitude from those involved from the ordinary middle-class demonstrators to the hard-core, left-wing militants.

Everyone was agreed at Duisburg that

Goodwill but no unexplored territory

of life, without using fantasy, with descriptive work that was uninspired, without any visual commentary and without making any statement.

The films that were involved in action of some kind revealed the same weaknesses. There was purely and simply a lack of ideas that could defy the confusion between the electronic flow of frames and reality.

This was true not only for the conventional films from the two Germanies that were artistically similar, but for all the other 18 countries that took part, with the exception of Britain, Japan and Sweden.

It seems that the new generation of film-makers have capitulated to the new reality, learned mainly from the media.

They are in fact in no position to shoot films about real life. They make copies of copies, that no longer include an organic whole, perspectives are not clearly expressed.

The first symptom of this paralysing helplessness was to be found in the programme catalogue, that did not deserve being described in this way.

The 160 pages of the catalogue did not include any mention of a concept or aims of the festival and provided little information about the films.

As a rule there were only a few tangled, if not completely incomprehensible, sentences by the film-makers themselves.

It shows an unreasonable and unjustified lack of planning that the catalogue included nothing about the young people whose films were screened and revealed nothing about the purposes of the festival.



Festival high point was prize-sharing *Spalprozesse* by Bertram Verhaag and Claus Strigel. (Photo: Duisburger Filmwoche)

in such a programme context as "La Sept" the documentary could be given a new lease of life.

Klaus Gronenborn
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 21 November 1987)

The term "festival" is too extravagant for this event. It gives the impression that there is a pressure to achieve something here that has come to be obligatory in activities associated with the "film city Munich."

This gives the impression that this festival should also be part of the series of cultural events in Munich that would turn the city into the film and media centre of the Federal Republic, an ambition much espoused by the Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss.

The festival organiser, Wolfgang Längsfeld, an instructor at the Munich Film and Television College, has not been able to keep up to the claim that the festival is international, even though two non-Europeans participated.

Countries such as the USA and Australia as well as the Third World did not participate.

But why have a festival of film colleges? Why not just an annual showing of the work of young film-makers without institutional restraints?

Why not half a dozen prizes, for the most interesting documentary, the most interesting cartoon film, the most interesting experimental film and so on? Disregarding that the term "interesting" is a very tricky term to use and it could be interpreted ironically.

The apprenticeship works would then not be put under the pressure of competition and the race for prizes too early.

After all an event, that so far has lacked the international avantgarde and the cosmopolitan element, is not likely to be achieve recognition by merely distributing film awards.

To this end quality is the only yardstick, and in some of the contributions an original sense of reality was present and the art of montage and wit was revived.

Günter Jurczyk
(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 15 November 1987)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Bigger and better-trained forces needed to catch fast-moving offenders

Environmental crime is increasing sharply but the police are badly placed to handle it. Last year, there were 14,853 prosecutions for environmental crime, 2,000 more than in 1985. Investigators are inadequately trained, understaffed and over-worked. They also face difficult legal problems in making prosecutions stick. Twelve years ago, the conviction rate was 78.3 per cent. By 1985 it had slipped to 55.1 per cent — a fact which is hitting the morale of investigators. Yet, says Rainer Müller in this article for *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, many not guilty verdicts could have resulted in convictions if the authorities had acted more competently.

Heinrich Boge, head of the *Bundeskriminalamt*, or Federal CID, admits that the law-breakers have the advantage over the police in environmental crime.

He says in a report on investigation last year that there were not enough investigators; that those few were not well enough trained; and that police organisation was not good.

The law enforcement agencies and the public prosecutor's office are increasingly confronted with environmental offences.

In Saarbrücken the public prosecutor's department says there is greater public awareness of the problem and

people are more willing to report offences. Last year in Saarland there were 182 proceedings against known offenders, 130 against person or persons unknown and 250 minor cases.

The public prosecutor is not called in for minor offences unless an appeal is lodged against a fine imposed by the administrative authorities.

Last year the Saarbrücken public prosecutor handled 560 environmental offences. Few were serious — not involving, say, the mass death of fish from river pollution.

The public prosecutor's department is making heavy weather of the pressure of this extra work. There are cost limits to manpower reserves, so staff are transferred from department to department in a bid to make ends meet.

Another problem Saarbrücken officials have faced since the early 1970s when the environment section was formed is a lack of specialist manpower. Hans Helmut Messinger and Jürgen Jülsch of the environment section admit say there are not enough experts and it is still early days.

Many members of staff try to brush up their ecology by reading in their spare time, but that is up to them.

Collaboration with experts is not without its problems. The experts have no criminological training, the public prosecutor's staff lack scientific skills, and misunderstandings can easily arise.

The extra workload that weighs down on the environmental task force, combined with manpower shortages and inadequate scientific grounding, can be nerve-racking.

Three members of the Saarbrücken environment section have applied for transfers to other departments; the pressure of work was simply too much for them.

So their conviction rate (and that of fellow-sleuths in other parts of the country) is nothing to write home about, as the *Bundeskriminalamt* noted some time ago and Heinrich von Lersner, head of the Environmental Protection Agency, Berlin, agrees.

Last year there were 14,853 prosecutions in the entire country for environmental offences. That was 2,000 more than in 1985.

But proceedings have been discontinued in three cases out of four, while a further 80 per cent of cases that went to court ended in the case being either stayed or dismissed.

In 1985 prison sentences were imposed in 27 cases (suspended sentences in 25 of the 27). Twelve years ago the conviction rate was 78.3 per cent; by 1985 it had declined to 55.1 per cent.

What is more, sentences are more lenient for environmental offences than for others, with fines predominating.

That encourages potential offenders. They stand very little chance of being caught, let alone of being sentenced. The sleuths are correspondingly frustrated and not infrequently feel "robbed" of the fruits of their labours.

Everyone agrees there must be an improvement in the conviction rate, or the likelihood of offenders being brought to book.

Yet in one of the most frequent categories of environmental offence this is most unlikely. Atmospheric pollution is so volatile that offenders can be identified in only a handful of cases.

Statistics show the failure rate in this category to be highest, at roughly 96 per cent.

Water and soil pollution can also be fast movers, with the result that the likelihood of offenders being caught and convicted is less than officials would like.

Public prosecutor's department staff are particularly unhappy at their lack of a legal basis for tackling environmental offenders. The problem is due to the nature of administrative law.

Subsidiary provisions are subject to principal provisions, with the result that the entire administrative procedure must be checked before a case can be brought against an offender.

In some instances the prosecution is powerless. Imagine, for instance, there is an accident at a factory and emission limits are heavily exceeded, causing serious damage.

No provision having been made for this eventuality in the licensing procedures, the public prosecutor is simple unable to step in — and this is not just a theoretical possibility.

The law can in any case only take its course once an offence has occurred. On environmental matters neither the police nor the public prosecutor are entitled to monitor provisions and insist on precautions being taken.

Another handicap is, undoubtedly, the fact that administrative authorities, such as the factory inspectorate, are not

legally required to institute proceedings. They have discretionary powers. In the Saar a Ministerial decree has been issued in a bid to deal with this shortcoming.

"If specific pointers encountered in the course of environmental duties give rise to suspicions that an offence has been committed," the decree reads, "the authority concerned will notify the public prosecutor's department."

This provision may be a help, but it would have been more to the point to make notification mandatory.

All over the country consideration is being given to whether civil servants might not make themselves liable to prosecution by failing to notify the authorities. A clear legal requirement would solve this problem, but one doesn't yet exist.

Civil servants are servants of the state and of the public good, whereas environmental offenders are in breach of the public interest.

A further practical drawback is the fact that local authorities tend to view environmental offences with mixed feelings. They have often been known to turn a blind eye to offences committed by a major taxpayer.

The last thing they want is to upset a lucrative source of local revenue who may happen to pump toxic effluent illegally into a river or exceed static emission limits.

Criminal code provisions with regard to the environment have their pitfalls and shortcomings too. Fairly minor offences can have appalling consequences.

A faulty gasket can release oil in bulk into the sewage system, creating an oil slick 100 metres long. The oil slick is a scandal, but the offence is hardly a capital one.

How, for that matter, can a farmer be shown to have acted with malice aforethought when, for this, he spread too much liquid manure on his land, a large quantity of manure seeped into a pond and killed fish or polluted waterways?

In cases such as these, in which the guilt is slight, the offender would probably be liable to no more than a fine. Criminal prosecution would almost certainly be ruled out even though the damage caused was substantial.

Public prosecutors are expected to handle about 60 cases a month, but this figure is illusory where white-collar and environmental crime is concerned (and the two are often interlinked).

In a nutshell (but slightly exaggerated), capital offences with a high conviction rate can take much less time to investigate than complicated environmental offences.

The courts are yet another problem. Herr von Lersner of the EPA says both public prosecutors and judges must "pull their socks up" if they are to keep track of white-collar crime.

The Frankfurt district court has made a name by setting up a special bench to deal with environmental offences.

That naturally presupposes enough cases to warrant this arrangement, and Saarbrücken probably doesn't have enough.

Yet environmental offences definitely tend to be registered in larger numbers where inspection facilities exist and official departments are in charge.

There is a wide range of environmental offences. Old tin cans may not look very decorative when thrown away in the countryside, but at least they don't pollute or contaminate the soil or the water.

That cannot be said of used batteries or car oil inadvertently or deliberately junked in the countryside because it is too much trouble to take them to a disposal facility.

The shortcomings of "socially influential, powerfully organised and profit-

Continued on page 15

■ MEDICINE

Don't lose your viriditas, warned Hildegard of Bingen



Hildegard of Bingen, a Benedictine nun who lived in a convent overlooking the Rhine over 800 years ago, was held in high esteem as a mystic and visionary by her contemporaries.

She was probably the first woman doctor in Germany too. Her surgery was attended by kings and emperors, bishops and popes. All sought her medical advice and a cure for their ailments.

There has been a revival of interest in her visionary powers, with three books lately published in the Federal Republic of Germany about Hildegardian medicine.

In Konstanz there is a Friends of Hildegard Association, a Hildegardian practice and mail-order firm and a number of hotels offering Hildegardian in-house treatment.

Bertram and wild thyme, spelt and wheat, violet ointment, heart wine and apple blossom oil were what she prescribed for lumbago, sciatica and rheumatism, bad breath and depression, liver complaints and even cancer.

Not for her a selection of exotic herbs and tinctures. She preferred strictly local herbs and was a great believer in the curative powers of special diets.

She prescribed diets for heart trouble, for rheumatism and for gastric and digestive disorders.

She even recommended eating habits designed to prevent or treat cancer symptoms. They included nourishing wine and beer, meat and sugar.

Hildegard would not have approved of today's emphasis on uncooked and vegetarian food and non-alcoholic drinks. She was either unaware of the existence of such theories or dismissed them as nonsense.

Her dietary staple was spelt, or German wheat, the most important foodstuff from which bread was baked in the Middle Ages until modern wheat took its place.

Spelt, she wrote, was the best foodgrain there was, and Hildegardian practitioners even claim miraculous qualities for it.

They feel a regular intake of spelt is so valuable that the entire body can regenerate and recuperate as a result of eating it.

So the menu at the Spunheimer Hof in Enkirchen on the Mosel, where nothing but Hildegardian food is served, is strongly spelt-oriented:

"Breakfast: spelt coffee and goat's milk, white and brown spelt bread and speltmeal porridge.

"Lunch: spelt dumpling soup, trout meunière rolled in spelt flour and fried in butter, with spelt cakes, lettuce and spelt grain. Spelt flour apple pancakes for dessert."

Other varieties of grain, fruit, vegetables and meat are re-evaluated in terms of what Hildegard called subtlety and classified as either healthy or unhealthy.

Subtlety as she meant it was the health-giving or destructive properties of food, meat, plants and stones.

Oats, for instance, were good for the

healthy person, making the skin beautiful and the flesh strong and healthy.

The sick would in contrast be well-advised to avoid oats, because they formed lumps in the stomach and lead to congestion.

Chick peas were warm and friendly, while boiled carrots and turnips were recommended when "the body's juice tended to cause ulcers."

Chestnuts were good for headaches. A sip of wine was advisable after eating cherries. Quinces were good for rheumatism and raspberries for fever.

Hildegard was a great believer in whale meat for the sick. It contained "so much strength that it withstands all bad and weak juices."

"Hildegard," says Konstanz doctor Gottfried Hertzka, "attributes all processes within the body to biochemical sequences and substances."

He has practised Hildegardian medicine for 30 years and written several books.

They include the *Handbuch der Hildegard-Medizin* (Manual of Hildegardian Medicine) and the *Küchengeheimnisse der Hildegard-Medizin* (Culinary Secrets of Hildegardian Medicine), both published by Bauer-Verlag of Freiburg.

In Hildegard's view, he says, most people are ill only as a result of damaging their body juices by not living sensibly, by overeating, by polluting the environment or by forcibly upsetting the harmony of creation.

Johann Andreas Eisenbarth, a late 17th and early 18th century German surgeon with a somewhat bloodcurdling reputation, has been honoured with a museum in his native town of Oberviechtach, Bavaria.

Dr Eisenbarth survives to this day in legend as a quack with a saw, and his collection of steel blue bone saws and intricately decorated skull drills is enough to send a shiver down the backs of visitors to the Eisenbarth museum.

His methods were controversial in their day. He toured the country with a circus retinue, was pilloried as a quack by some and held in high repute by others.

The Oberviechtach museum is a long-overdue token of respect for a man who was a misunderstood genius. Latest research findings indicate that Eisenbarth was a gifted surgeon with skills far in advance of his time.

His enemies peddled doggerel rhymes accusing him of trepanning *Frederick the Great* with an axe, causing the king's death.

Ditties of this kind fill ballad books. Many will have been written by students long after his death. Historians now say he was anything but the quack he is generally considered to have been.

He was born on 27 March 1661 in Oberviechtach and died on 11 November 1727 in Hannover-Münden. In a century of unscrupulous medics claiming to work miracle cures he devised new operating techniques and developed new and improved surgical instruments.

Modern bone saws that are used to amputate limbs look little different from the ones Eisenbarth used.

In the early years of the 18th century he and his retinue, 120 strong, were a market and funfair attraction.

When drum-rolls drowned the screams



Heady days. Trepan (for boring holes in heads) from the Eisenbarth era.

He had conjurers and illusionists to attract custom and salesgirls to sell his home-brewed medicines.

Dr Eisenbarth in his red jacket and

So the most important treatment she recommends before switching to a spelt-based diet is decontamination — by means ranging from purging and cupping via fasting and bloodletting to baths and poultices.

Hildegard, or St Hildegard, as she is entitled to be called in Germany, saw her work in strictly Christian terms.

The loss of vital energy that made someone ill (viriditas, she called it) was a sign of lost belief in God.

Depression, or melancholy, was the result of an excess of black bile, which in turn was the result of man's fall from grace.

She saw physical ailments such as "nerve-racking" anger or greed, which tended to trigger weariness of life, as closely interlinked to disbelief and sin.

Virtue and belief had, in contrast, curative properties. Moderation was most effective in treating liver complaints, which were mainly due to immoderate eating or drinking habits.

Hildegard attached great importance to precious stones, describing in detail the effect of each (cf *Die Edelstein-Medizin der heiligen Hildegard* (St Hildegard's Precious Stone Medicine), published by Bauer-Verlag, Freiburg).

Some might say that her advice is unscientific. She advises breathing on a stone, then licking it, for instance. But Hildegardians point out that her visions were divinely-inspired.

She was born in 1098 on an estate near Alzei. She was the tenth child of a nobleman and was reported to have possessed visionary powers as a child.

At the age of 42 she certainly had what believers in the esoteric would today describe as an experience of illumination.

Hildegardians are active in the Feder-



Revival of interest in her ideas... contemporary drawing of Hildegard. (Photo: Archives)

al Republic of Germany, Austria and Switzerland.

An International Society for Research on Hildegard of Bingen has even been set up at the University of Indiana, while in Michigan a mail-order firm markets Hildegardian medicine.

dpa
(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 17 November 1987)

wig was the star of the show, reportedly operating on bladder stones, hernias and glaucoma patients in what would nowadays be described as assembly-line fashion.

Contemporaries said he was extremely successful as a surgeon. His services were certainly in great demand by the high and mighty in 18th century Europe even though he never attended university and was a self-styled doctor.

Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia made him a Royal Prussian court oculist for curing a friend with an eye injury, while he was similarly honoured by the British court.

He is agreed to have been a wizard at singing his own praises. He may have been an all-round medical talent but he was unquestionably a smart businessman.

He is said to have had his assistants drown the sound of patients screaming in pain (there were no anaesthetics in those days) by sounding drum-rolls.

He did a brisk and lucrative trade in all manner of patent medicines that were the bane of apothecaries, whose business plummeted when he was in town.

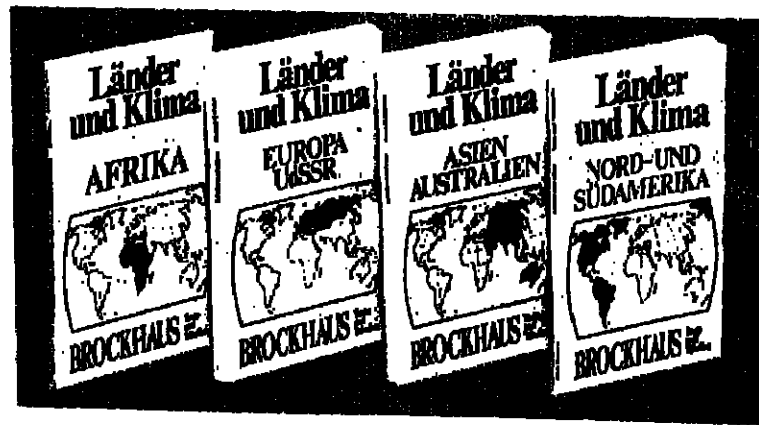
He prescribed Theriac, a dark brown liquid containing up to 54 ingredients, and Arcana, which he claimed to be equally effective in curing infection, epilepsy and heartache.

His erstwhile competitors have since learnt a thing or two. An Oberviechtach chemist and pharmacist now, 260 years after Eisenbarth's death, makes up an "original" Eisenbarth elixir that sells well to thousands of museum visitors from all over the world.

It may even cure a minor complaint or two!

dpa
(Bremer Nachrichten, 26 November 1987)

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